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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 014060 TOSEC 010020

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FOLLOWING REPEAT LUSAKA 137 ACTION SECSTATE 20 JAN

QUOTE

S E C R E T LUSAKA 0137

NODIS

EO 11652: XGDS-2

TAGS: PFOR EO OAU

SUBJECT: KAUNDA'S ASSESSMENT OF ANGOLA AND OAU SUMMIT

REF: STATE 10167

1. SUMMARY. CHONA CALLED ME TO STATE HOUSE LATE EVENING JAN 19 FOR WHAT HE INDICATED WOULD BE PLAYBACK BY HIM ON BREZHNEV'S REPLY TO KAUNDA LETTER ON ANGOLA. INSTEAD, APPOINTMENT TURNED OUT TO BE HOUR-AND-HALF-LONG MEETING WITH PRESIDENT KAUNDA WITH CHONA PRESENT IN RESPONSE TO MY REQUEST FOR APPOINTMENT PER REFTEL. KAUNDA SAID OAU SUMMIT WAS: (A) HISTORIC IN CLEARLY IDENTIFYING AND SEPARATING AFRICAN MORALISTS FROM THE POLITICAL OPPORTUNISTS; (B) NEXT STEP IN SEARCH FOR PEACE IN ANGOLA MIGHT

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BE TRIED THROUGH SECOND ECHELON OF POLITICAL LEADERS RATHER THAN PRESSING FOR RECONCILIATION AMONG IRRECONCILADRES (NETO, ROBERTO AND SAVIMBI); (C) THIS PRESUPPOSED "VITAL NEED" FOR CONTINUED AMERICAN ASSISTANCE TO MAINTAIN MILITARY BALANCE; (D) FINALLY, KAUNDA SAID, SOVIET "NON-REPLY"

TO HIS LETTER TO BREZHNEV WAS DISILLUSIONING AND
MIGHT NOT AUGUR WELL FOR SECRETARY'S
DISCUSSIONS ON ANGOLA IN MOSCOW. END SUMMARY.

2. OAU SUMMIT. KAUNDA OPENED CONVERSATION BY ASKING
ABOUT PRESIDENT FORD. I DREW ON INSTRUCTIONS
IN REFTEL TO EXPRESS PRESIDENT'S APPRECIATION AND
ADMIRATION FOR ZAMBIAN STATESMANSHIP AT ADDIS AND REMARKED
ON IMPRESSIVE SHOW OF LEADERSHIP AND UNITY AMONG AFRICAN
MODERATES LIKE HIMSELF. KAUNDA SAID PRO-MPLA RECOGNITION
GROUP WAS SHOCKED OVER THEIR SETBACK AT ADDIS BECAUSE
THEY FULLY EXPECTED CLEAR-CUT VICTORY. RADICALS DID NOT
BELIEVE THEY WOULD NOT HAVE THEIR WAY AS THEY ALWAYS HAD
IN PAST. THIS HAS STARTED SOME AFRICANS THINKING ALONG
MORE REALISTIC LINES. IT MARKS NEW TREND IN
HISTORY OF OAU AND SHARP BREAK WITH PAST.

3. KAUNDA KEPT EMPHASIZING THROUGHOUT OUR MEETING THE
SHARP CLEAVAGE WHICH SURFACED BETWEEN THOSE AFRICAN STATES
FOR WHICH MORALITY IS IMPORTANT AND OTHERS FOR WHICH
OPPORTUNISM BASED ON OFFERS OF OR ACTUAL SOVIET ASSISTANCE
IS GUIDING FORCE IN THEIR POLICIES. SAID REAL SIGNIFICANCE
OF OAU SUMMIT FOR AFRICAN CONTINENT WILL BECOME CLEARER OVER
NEXT FIVE OR TEN YEARS AS SOVIET GRAND STRATEGY FOR CONTINENT
UNFOLDS (LUSAKA 115).

4. KAUNDA THEN TICKED OFF BY NAME ALL COUNTRIES IN
ANTI-MPLA CAMP OF AFRICAN MODERATES AND CONFIDENTLY
SAID THEY WOULD STAND PAT WITH NO RPT NO DEFECTIONS.
HE CATEGORIZED PRO-MPLA GROUP INTO THREE SUB-CATEGORIES:
(A) COUNTRIES LIKE GUINEA BISSAU, CAPE VERDE AND MOZAMBIQUE
WHICH FOR HISTORICAL AND LANGUAGE REASONS ARE CLOSELY
LINKED TO MPLA; (B) THOSE WHO WERE SWAYED IN SUPPORT FOR
MPLA RECOGNITION BECAUSE OF SOUTH AFRICAN INVOLVEMENT
AND WHOSE POSITION COULD CHANGE IF SAG WITHDREW; E.G.,
GHANA AND MAURITIUS; AND (C) THOSE WHOSE "CRUDE POLITICAL
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OPPORTUNISM" MOTIVATES THEM; E.G., SOMALIA, CONGO
BRAZZAVILLE, AND RECENTLY NIGER.

5. KAUNDA THEN LAUGHED HEARTILY IN RECALLING FIELD
MARSHAL IDI AMIN WHO REFUSED TO GIVE UP HIS CHAIR
BECAUSE OF GOOD IMPRESSION HE WANTED TO MAKE ALTHOUGH
HE SLEPT THROUGH SOME OF THE PROCEEDINGS,
BUT SAID THE CONFERENCE NEEDED SOMEONE LIKE HIM; HE HAD
INDEED BEEN HELPFUL. BECOMING SERIOUS AGAIN, KAUNDA SAID HE
WAS DISTURBED ABOUT GROWING RUSSIAN INFLUENCE THROUGHOUT AFRICA
AND THE APPEAL IT HAS FOR MAN'S GREED.

6. POST SUMMIT DAR CONFERENCE. KAUNDA HEDGED HIS REPLY
TO MY QUESTION ON WHETHER THERE HAD BEEN ANY PROGRESS ON

NEXT STEPS AS A RESULT OF DAR MEETING WITH NYERERE, MACHEL AND KHAMA. HE SAID ALL FOUR PRESIDENTS AGREED THAT OAU SUMMIT WAS TRAGICALLY INCONCLUSIVE. KAUNDA UNWILLING TO GO BEYOND AGREEING WITH ME THAT DIFFERENCES EXISTED BUT THE FOUR HOPED TO WORK TOGETHER IN COMING WEEKS TO CONSIDER VARIOUS POSSIBILITIES FOR BREAKING DEADLOCK. HE LAUGHED AT BBC REPORT THAT HE TOOK SERETSE KHAMA OF BOTSWANA ALONG TO DAR "FOR SUPPORT".

7. I TRIED TO ENGAGE KAUNDA ON MACHEL'S PERPLEXING ANTAGONISM TOWARD SOUTH AFRICA WHEN HE WAS SO ECONOMICALLY DEPENDENT ON SOUTH AFRICA. KAUNDA COULD NOT BE DRAWN OUT BEYOND SAYING IT WAS PROBLEMS LIKE THIS HE HAD IN MIND IN HIS ADDIS SPEECH IN WHICH HE SAID "ZAMBIA NEEDS NO LECTURING FROM ANYONE..." "WE HAVE FOUGHT SOUTH AFRICAN APARTHEID FOR YEARS...; PIOUS SPEECHES DO NOT BRING LIBERATION."

8. NEXT STEPS ON ANGOLA. KAUNDA SAID IT "VITAL" AND HE REPEATED VITAL THAT AMERICA CONTINUE ITS ASSISTANCE SO THAT A MILITARY BALANCE COULD BE MAINTAINED AND THE THREE ANGOLAN FACTIONS BROUGHT TOGETHER. HE SAID WITHOUT ASSISTANCE FROM WEST CONSEQUENCES FOR AFRICA WOULD BE TRAGIC IN VIEW OF SOVIET GRAND STRATEGY FOR CONTINENT. HE RECALLED KANANGA (ZAIRE) DECISION IN WHICH PRESIDENTS MACHEL, NYERERE, MOBUTU AND HIMSELF HAD AGREED THAT UNITA'S SAVIMBI BE PROPOSED AS THE COMPROMISE PRESIDENT. KAUNDA SAID HE DISCUSSED THIS WITH
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SAVIMBI BEFORE MEETING WITH PRESIDENT FORD AND SECRETARY KISSINGER IN WASHINGTON LAST APRIL. AT THAT TIME SAVIMBI SAID IF OTHER TWO LEADERS, NETO AND ROBERTO, STEPPED DOWN, HE TOO WOULD HAVE TO STEP DOWN. SAVIMBI REPEATED THIS OFFER AGAIN AT ADDIS SUMMIT. KAUNDA THEN SAID HE WISHED USG WOULD GIVE ITS OPINION TO HIM ON THE IDEA THAT ALL THREE ANGOLAN LEADERS STEP DOWN AND GIVE THE NEXT ECHELON A CHANCE TO FORGE A COALITION GOVERNMENT. I RECALLED THAT SECRETARY HAD SAID DEC 23 THAT WE HAD NO RPT NO PREFERENCE ON KIND OF GOVERNMENT FORMED, THAT IT WAS UP TO THREE FACTIONS TO AGREE AMONG THEMSELVES. KAUNDA SAID HE THOUGHT A CHANGE OF LEADERS MIGHT BE ONE WAY OF SUBMERGING PERSONAL RIVALRIES AND ANIMOSITIES WHICH HAD PREVENTED AGREEMENT UP UNTIL NOW. HE THOUGHT SAVIMBI FOR ONE COULD PLAY THE ELDER STATESMAN ROLE WELL ("LIKE MAO"). SUCCESS OF WHOLE ARRANGEMENT PRESUPPOSES A MILITARY STALEMATE TO BE MAINTAINED BY HEAVY MILITARY AND FINANCIAL INPUTS FROM THE WEST. THIS WAS WHY US RESOURCES AND COMMITMENTS WERE SO VITALLY IMPORTANT.

9. I SAID MUCH WOULD DEPEND ON DISPOSITION OF SOVIETS TO RESPOND TO US APPEALS FOR RESTRAINT, END TO AGGRESSION, AND PULLOUT OF CUBANS. KAUNDA REITERATED THEME OF HIS SPEECHES AT ADDIS AND ON RETURN TO LUSAKA THAT POWER OF DECISION

RESTS IN FINAL ANALYSIS AT THIS STAGE WITH MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON.
I CALLED ATTENTION TO PRES FORD'S STATE OF UNION MESSAGE TO
CONGRESS THAT VERY EVENING IN WHICH ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY
ON ANGOLA WOULD BE REAFFIRMED, ALSO TO SECY'S TRIP SAME
EVENING TO MOSCOW FOR DISCUSSIONS ON SALT II AND ANGOLA.

10. SOVIET REPLY TO ZAMBIANS. KAUNDA SAID HE NOT AT ALL
ENCOURAGED AT PROSPECTS FOR MOVING SOVIETS IF THEY MAINTAINED
ATTITUDE OF SO-CALLED BREZHNEV REPLY TO HIS LETTER OF JAN 4.
SAID HE CONVINCED BREZHNEV HAD NEVER EVEN SEEN HIS
LETTER, WRITTEN AS HE EXPLAINED WITH GREATEST OF CARE
SO AS TO APPEAL TO SOVIET REASON AND SENSE OF RIGHTNESS.
KAUNDA INDICATED HE DISGUSTED WITH EMPTY VERBIAGE ABOUT
"PATRIOTS FIGHTING FOR LIBERATION AGAINST FORCES OF
IMPERIALISM AND RACISM" DISHED UP ORALLY BY SOVIET
AMBASSADOR IN RUSSIA THROUGH AN INTERPRETER JUST THE
PREVIOUS HOUR BEFORE RECEIVING ME. IN REPLY HE TOLD
SOVIET THAT AS CHIEF OF STATE HE HAD WRITTEN LETTER TO
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BREZHNEV AND HE EXPECTED WRITTEN REPLY, NOT A LONG ORAL
RECITATION WHEREUPON KAUNDA ROSE AND, WALKED OUT ON,
SOVIET.

11. KAUNDA THEN LET LOOSE A STREAM OF INVECTIVE AGAINST
SOVIETS AS DULL, HUMORLESS, INFLEXIBLE AND WITH NO SENSE OF
HUMANITY; CASTING ABOUT THE WORLD FOR PUPPETS AND DIVIDING
BROTHERS. SEVERAL TIMES HE REFERRED TO SOVIETS AS "REALLY
EMPTY IN THE HEAD", THEN ASKED IF I FAMILIAR WITH THE PRAYER,
"OH GOD DELIVER ME FROM FRIENDS LIKE THAT."

12. IN MIDST OF THIS ANTI-SOVIET TIRADE KAUNDA REFERRED
WITH DISDAIN TO "PUPPET CZECH AMBASSADOR" WHO HAD
RECENTLY NOTIFIED FONMIN BANDA HE WOULD BE ACCREDITED TO
LUANDA GOVERNMENT. KAUNDA SAID HE PROMPTLY INSTRUCTED
BANDA TO NOTIFY CZECH TO DECIDE, "EITHER HERE OR THERE,
BUT NOT BOTH".

13. KAUNDA HEAPED MORE COALS ON SOVIETS BY
RECALLING "THE NERVE OF KOSYGIN AND PODGORNYY WHEN
TAKING HIM TO MOSCOW AIRPORT INCLOSED CAR TO BE
ASKED "IF HE REALLY BELIEVED IN GOD WITH ALL WONDERFUL
DISCOVERIES IN SCIENCE". SAID HE SHOT BACK
INTEMPERATELY TO MIND THEIR OWN BUSINESS;
HIS CHRISTIAN BELIEFS WERE HIS OWN. KAUNDA THEN RECALLED
WITH GREAT AMUSEMENT TO HIMSELF AND CHONGA DIFFERENCE
BETWEEN SOVIETS AND CHINESE. MAO HAD URGED KAUNDA NEVER
TO BE A COMMUNIST BECAUSE THERE GOOD AND BAD COMMUNISTS
AND IT HARD TO DECIDE.

14. WILL THE EST HELP? CHONGA RAISED THIS QUESTION AS
HE HAD WITH CODEL BOWEN, AND KAUNDA PICKED IT UP. I

EXPLAINED POST-VIETNAM MOOD OF AMERICA, DIFFENT KIND OF POLITICAL OPPORTUNISM IN OUR COUNTRY IN ELECTION YEAR, BUT SAID ADMINISTRATION DETERMINED IN FACE OF OBSTACLES TO PRESS CONGRESS FOR FINANCIAL AND MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO MAINTAIN MILITARY BALANCE IN ANGOLA WHICH KAUNDA CONSIDERED SO IMPORTANT AS PRE-CONDITION FOR BRINGING WARRING FACTIONS TOGETHER IN ANOTHER NEW TRY WITH SECOND ECHELON LEADERS.

15. CHONA THEN REFERRED TO HIS NOTES ON SOVIET VERBAL
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REPLY. SAID RUSSIANS MAINTAINED THEY NOT RPT NOT AGAINST POLITICAL SOLUTION IN ANGOLA BUT BELIEVED "AGGRESSOR MUST BE DRIVEN OUT". I TOLD PRESIDENT HIS VIEWS ON NEED FOR AMERICAN ASSISTANCE WOULD BE IMPORTANT TO MY GOVERNMENT AND ALSO IMPORTANT TO US CONGRESS, REPEATING CODEL BOWEN'S SUGGESTION OF NEED FOR PUBLICITY ON HOPES OF AFRICAN LEADERS FOR WESTERN ASSISTANCE. KAUNDA DID NOT PICK UP SUGGESTION. RATHER HE TURNED SUBJECT TO EXPRESSION OF ALARM OVER MOST RECENT REPORT OF AROUND 10,000 CUBAN TROOPS IN ANGOLA. SAID HE SURPRISED IN HIS VISIT TO DAR TO SEE SO MANY CUBANS (COLORED) AS HE HAD ON STREETS THERE DURING QUADRIPARTITE MEETING FOLLOWING SUMMIT.

16. COMMENT: I FOUND KAUNDA MORE RELAXED, JOVIAL AND PHILISOPHICAL THAN IN ANY OTHER OFFICIAL CONVERSATION TO DATE. HE CLEARLY RELIEVED TO BE RID OF SOVIET AMBASSADOR AND PLEASED HE WALKED OUT ON HIM. HE SEEMED TO REVEL IN JOKING AND LIGHT BANTER, NOTWITHSTANDING SERIOUSNESS OF MAIN BODY OF OUR DISCUSSION ON NEXT STEPS FOR ANGOLA. IN FIRMLY CALLING FOR AMERICAN ASSISTANCE HE WAS NEITHER INSISTENT NOR DEMANDING. HE STRUCK POSE OF CHRISTIAN MORALIST LOOKING AT AMERICAN COIN AND READING "IN GOD WE TRUST", EVEN THOUGH CHONA RAISED DOUBTS THAT US CONGRESS COULD BE COUNTED ON, REFLECTING CHINESE INFLUENCE ON HIS THINKING IN THIS REGARD.

17. I WONDERED IF THE NEXT ECHELON PROPOSAL FOR RECONCILIATION OF ANGOLAN FACTIONS WAS LESS A PERSONAL SUGGESTION WITH KAUNDA THAN ONE WHICH FOUR PRESIDENTS AT DAR AGREED TO TRY TO BRING OFF, WITH NYERERE AND MACHEL ASSIGNED TO WORK ON NETO, KAUNDA ON SAVIMBI, AND PERHAPS A ZAMBIAN EMISSARY TO MOBUTU TO WORK ON ROBERTO.

18. RECOMMENDATION. IF WE REALLY WANT AFRICAN MODERATES LIKE KAUNDA, SENGHOR, MOBUTU AND HOUPOUET BOIGNY TOGETHER WITH ANGOLAN LEADERS AND PERHAPS OTHERS TO CALL OUT FOR AMERICAN ASSISTANCE IN SUPPORT OF ADMINISTRATION POLICY BEFORE CONGRESS, BELIEVE DIRECT APPEAL WILL HAVE TO BE MADE TO CHIEFS OF STATE. ALSO, IN EXCHANGE FOR ZAMBIAN CONFIDENCE ON NATURE OF BREZHNEV REPLY TO KAUNDA, IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO HAVE SOME MESSAGE FROM SECRETARY OR PRESIDENT ON MOSCOW DISCUSSIONS WHICH COULD BE PASSED TO KAUNDA.

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